



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

state officers are chosen, and on the same ballots, only about five in every ten of those who put their crosses on the tickets for candidates take the trouble to express themselves on the subject of legislative measures submitted to them. In an amendment to a banking law submitted in Illinois in 1898 only about one man in five had enough interest to say yes or no on the point. Our experience here corresponds in the main with the condition of affairs which M. Deploige has found to exist in Switzerland, though they have compulsory voting in some of the cantons, and on the whole the results measured from the point of view of the number of electors participating in the referenda seem there to be far better.

The book is preceded by a letter on the referendum in Belgium by Professor M. J. van den Heuvel, of the University of Louvain, which, however, adds little to the argument. The translation has been made by C. P. Trevelyan, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. The text has been edited with notes, introduction and appendices by Miss Lilian Tomn, of Girton College, Cambridge, herself an interesting and well-informed writer on the referendum. Her notes, which are important and copious, add much to the elucidation of the subject, and her chapter describing the votes on federal laws from 1892 to 1897, *i. e.* from the time, that M. Deploige closes his account up to date, will be much appreciated, as her bibliography will be also, and her successful attempts throughout to bring the topic to the full understanding of the English reader.

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

*Philadelphia.*

---

*A History of the Presidency.* By EDWARD STANWOOD. Pp. vi, 586. Price, \$2.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898.

In 1884 was published a "History of Presidential Elections," written by Mr. Stanwood. It was the first successful attempt to collect the national platforms of the various political parties, the records of the presidential nominating conventions, the issues on which presidential campaigns were waged, and the popular and electoral votes cast for candidates for the office of president. The book answered many questions in regard to our political history and met with a steady demand. It was reissued with supplementary chapters at each subsequent presidential campaign. Mr. Stanwood has rewritten and amplified much of the book and it is now reissued under a changed name. It was doubtless advisable to change the title of the book, to indicate the changed character of the contents, but we do not think the new

title a happy one. It is not a history of the presidency; it is a most comprehensive and indispensable "History of Presidential Elections." Two statements will prove the force of this objection. The controversy between Andrew Johnson and congress receives two pages of space allotted to it, or about the space given to the platform of the United Labor party in 1892. That party polled less than four thousand votes, at the highest figure given it. That this is not a "History of the Presidency" is further shown by a sentence in the preface, which is as follows. 'If it be urged that a history of the presidency should include an account of the development of the presidential office and of the successive expansions or limitations of the president's powers and duties, the reply may be made that there has been no such development to record, since the office is now what it was in the time of Washington—neither of greater nor of less weight in the government than it was then.' It seems strange to think that this sentence was written in the year of grace in which Mr. McKinley decided to annex the Philippines and made a tariff for Puerto Rico, and in which Professor Simeon E. Baldwin published his "Modern Political Ideas," with its admirable chapter on "Absolute Power—an American Institution." There has been a development in the presidency, though its story is not told in this book.

Barring the title, a captious criticism can see little in the book with which to find fault. We might claim that even an imperfect table of the popular vote at the earlier elections would be of some interest and that a minute investigation might somewhere discover the omitted platforms of one or two early prohibition conventions, but these matters are hardly worthy of note. The author calls our attention to the fact that, with fuller information, he has much expanded the earlier chapters. We tested this and find that he nearly doubled their size and greatly increased their value. The chapter headings have been changed in many cases. A new and most valuable chapter has been added on the convention system and the record has been brought down to include the election of 1896. The narrative is sane, clear and unprejudiced. More of the author's opinions on disputed points are given than in earlier editions. We know of no book more worthy of the attention of students of politics, as containing the theories and disputed points on which party lines have been formed. Oftentimes the writer suggests aspects which are not likely to occur to the ordinary observer of events. For instance, we all know that "it is customary for the newspapers, after each election, to draw attention, in the tone of an alarmist, to the fact that the change of a certain small number of votes from one candidate to another in a few states would have given the election to that second candidate" (p. 17).

Yet how few have clearly seen that "the answer to the ever repeated arithmetical speculation is that the votes never do have the tendency to redistribute themselves in the way suggested. One election does not resemble another; but the tendency in one state at any given election is substantially the same as in other states. It increases the majority of the winning party in its own states, it carries some states over to the opposition, it reduces majorities in the states held by the losing party—these changes all being at any election in the same direction."

In general Mr. Stanwood is a defender of the electoral system, and he calls attention to the fact that, through the growth of the convention system, while the electors have become ministerial officers, the extra-constitutional features of the system have accomplished two of the purposes of the framers of the constitution, namely, that the legislature should not be the power which should nominate the president and that he should be chosen by representatives of the people. The national conventions, working in a different manner, accomplish the purpose intended for the electoral college. The treatment of the rise and development of conventions is most complete and interesting. Our attention is called to the fact that the system arose just at the time when the improved methods of transportation made its success possible, and that the congressional caucus, as a method of nomination, was almost a necessary evil in the days when communication between different parts of the country was difficult and expensive of time as well as of money. We find that Pennsylvania is the birth-place of the convention, as New York is of the "machine," and we see how, "like many inventions in the arts, it was originally the result of accidental necessity and crude in form, but was afterward developed into a useful and efficient instrument." The first state convention was held by a faction of the Republican party in 1808; the first recorded suggestions for a national convention was made by a county convention in Pennsylvania in 1824. The first platform was the National Republican one of 1832. From the early national conventions of 1831 and 1832 to the present we are led through the various changes in their form and rules. There is the development of the platform, the struggle over the unit rule, the Democratic requirement of two-thirds of the votes for a nomination, etc. The conclusion is drawn that the "Republican party has adopted several reforms in the constitution, the election and the proceedings of national conventions, which have not commended themselves to the Democrats" (p. 175). Other reforms are suggested for the future, and we are told that "it should be the concern of all good citizens to make the national convention, through which parties act directly upon the government, a

free and independent body, expressive of the best thought, the highest motives and the truest patriotism of the party" (p. 177). There is nothing of the theorist or closet scholar in the book. Mr. Stanford knows men and understands politics. He is an optimist, without losing sight of evil. He believes in the people and in the making the best of things, instead of girding at unfortunate conditions. He is most judicious and fair-minded and, when he inclines to one side of any disputed question, is careful to state what is the contention of the other side.

The summing up of Hayes' administration on page 401 is admirable. The author has evidently studied the newspaper files carefully, though he does not seem to have access to one published in Baltimore, the great convention city of the past. From newspapers he has rescued interesting bits of history, such as the fact that one of the electors chosen as a Federalist in Pennsylvania in 1796 voted for Jefferson and thus "betrayed the trust reposed in him by those who supported him" (p. 50). Mr. Stanwood thinks this is the only case of the sort, but the three Clay electors, who voted for other candidates in 1824, seem to have been in a similar position.

There are a few errors we have noted: on page 98, George W. Crawford should be William H. Crawford; on page 478, Sherman had little more than one-fourth of the whole membership of the convention for him at the beginning of the balloting in 1888, instead of "one-fourth of the number necessary to nominate;" on page 508, it is believed that the Bascom voted for in the Prohibition National Convention of 1892, was Professor John Bascom, of Williams College; on page 520, the common confusion of the Monroe and the Olney doctrine with reference to our South American relations occurs; on page 564, the remarkable rise of the price of wheat in the autumn of 1896, should have been alluded to as a cause of Republican success in the ensuing election.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

*Baltimore.*

---

*The Finances of New York City.* By EDWARD DANA DURAND, Ph. D. Pp. 397. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

The failure of the attempts to present comparative statements of municipal finances in tabulated form has forced the conclusion that monographic treatment of the finances of individual cities will be necessary before any valuable comparisons can be made. If any further confirmation were required, Dr. Durand's book would